1: Titiev E-5 (1948) 1951 SG4 Araucanians SG4
Mapuche-Huilliche

A bastard, *weda fine* ("bad" or "wasted semen"), is usually reared by the mother's parents. Two types of illegitimate offspring are recognized. One kind, born to a promiscuous woman, is called *kiñe ñuke mari chau* ("one-mother-ten-father"). The other sort, whose father is almost certainly known, is termed *yall tuku*, which signifies "made without love." Girls who have borne bastards are not regarded as unfit or ineligible for marriage. If later a suitor seeks to make an issue of such an occurrence, people hasten to say, "Oh, that was a long time ago," or else, "It wasn't her fault. She was forced into it."

Early writers have drawn word pictures of unrestrained license among the Araucanians, particularly at festivals where there has been much drinking.[5] There may be some truth to such assertions, but at least one Mapuche informant insisted that it is not easy to have a love affair during big assemblies because there are so many people present and all watch one another.

Prostitution has been reported, and Latcham has even said that some harlots travel "from village to village in pursuit of new lovers."[6] It is hard to explain the presence of such an institution or custom in a society that affords so many opportunities for sexual indulgence to people of either sex. It may be that the term "prostitution" has been used more or less figuratively as a synonym for unchastity, but I was unable to verify the occurrence of actual venality. The nearest approach to harlotry about which my informants spoke was furnished by a class of widows who, having made up their minds that they are unlikely to rewed, freely invite the youths of the neighborhood to disport with them. That such women expect payment for their favors is highly doubtful.

There seems to be a growing tendency for young men to resort to brothels in the Chilean towns and cities which they have occasion to visit. This is associated, in the expressed opinions of informants, with the breakdown of the traditional social

[5] Latcham, 1909, pp. 354, 356, 367, 370; 1924, p. 609. On the other hand, one author has made the surprising statement that "*entre los araucanos no se conoce el adulterio.*" Treutler, 1861, p. 70.

[6] Latcham, 1909, p. 354.

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varied from 3 to 11. One informant had 6 children (3 boys and 3 girls); another, 10, of whom 4 were boys; another, 8, 3 of whom had died. A 51-year-old man had 11 children living and 1 dead: the oldest was 25; the youngest, 1 year and 8 months. One woman had given birth to 20 children, many of whom had died when small. One informant had delivered 9 children of whom 2 were stillborn, 1 premature, and 1 aborted.

PRENATAL PERIOD

PERIOD OF GESTATION

An expectant mother is spoken of as "being pregnant" or as "having been left pregnant." The month of delivery is known. "By counting the moons we know when the child will be born: the mother carries a boy 9 months; a girl, less time than that." The day of delivery is not reckoned, even approximately. "She [pointing at a listener-in] went into her yard to get wood; her baby was born while she was out there; it came so unexpectedly. One woman here who enjoys dancing those Chilean dances gave birth to a girl while she was dancing at a get-together in her ruka."

Most informants had not thought about the question as to when the fetus becomes human; all agreed that the child was human at birth. "Why else treat it like a human being at once after birth?" One woman reasoned that it might be human earlier, "for if it is born prematurely we treat it like all babies are treated, and if it is born dead we bury it in the cemetery just like other people."

ABORTIONS

An occasional expectant woman today, as formerly, is known to induce an abortion. If she is married, the reason for an abortion is usually that her family is large and no additional children are desired; if she is unmarried, it is because of the disgrace attached to giving birth out of wedlock. "I do not believe, however, that abortions are induced to any extent today," said the interpreter, a non-Araucanian herbalist, "for most families are large, and many illegitimate children are born." According to Araucanian women, the abortifacients have to be taken during the first month of pregnancy. Abortifacients spoken of were water in which powdered alum and soap used in washing had been dissolved, water into which the setting of a grindstone had been stirred, and a powerful plant (unidentified) from which a decoction was made. Cooper (1946, p. 733) notes that Gusinde lists

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847 different plant abortifacients. A non-Araucanian was called to assist two unmarried pregnant girls who were dying—their mother and an older sister had worked the abdomen of the girls, even to hitting them with boards, to cause them to abort. "A family is very much em-
[848] barrassed and deeply ashamed when a girl of the family gives birth out of wedlock," noted the informant. Spontaneous abortions were known to have occurred in instances where an expectant mother was overcome with fright.

SEX PREFERENCE AND SEX PREDICTION

842 Boys have always been preferred to girls ("a man hates his wife if she gives him only girls") because a son will assist his father with work; he can be the father of a family; and he returns to his paternal home, bringing his bride with him. A girl, on the contrary, marries and goes away from home; she pays no more attention to her parents. "Girls do not seem to care how parents get along." During the days of attack by the Argentine army, boys were especially preferred; men were needed to protect the people. "In fact, we prayed to God in the ñillatun [tribal religious ceremonial] to have boys born to us." However, a girl is in no way made to feel the fact that she is not a boy.

Informants were agreed that there is no preference regarding the first-born child, but that if children are all of one sex parents are disappointed. Two non-Araucanians had heard that, formerly, if the first-born was a girl, it was killed. This was not verified. A decoction taken by the woman was known to have been used effectively when boys were desired, but no informant knew its ingredients. If only girls are born to a family, the man procures the decoction from a specialist, usually an old man or an old woman. "A man who had only girls used to pass by our ruka every month on his way to a woman herbalist who lived across the river. He went there to get something which his wife drank so that they would have some boys. He used to come back with his bottle filled. That year they had a boy. He was so grateful that he gave the herbalist a sheep. The decoction had to be taken while the moon was gaining, and only the wife drank it. The man saw the woman mix well-beaten white of eggs with the sap of green seeds of limpia plata and the juice of several other plants which the woman did not let him see. Since I had only boys, I asked him if the woman could give me something to drink to have girls. He obviously never found out for he did not tell me. And I never tried to find out. I thought it best to be satisfied with what God sends."

It is believed, too, that if a man at any time cuts his fingernails

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ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins are born occasionally in Alepúe, Panguipulli, and Coñaripe areas; none were known to have been born in Boroa area and its neighboring area of Licán. In Alepúe area three pairs were born between 1934 and 1936. 845

According to Cooper's source, one of twins was either drowned or suffocated with mud (1946, p. 733). I doubt that the killing of one twin was institutional, at least not for Alepúe and Panguipulli areas. Both Araucanians and non-Araucanians (herbalists and missionaries) in these areas had not heard of it as a custom. In Coñaripe area it is being done today. "A year ago, there were two such instances. I was never present when one was killed, but I have been told by those who were that the second-born is throttled to death."

Those present at the birth of twins are frightened. Parents are ashamed of twins—the reason was not ascertained. "Two years ago a family [Alepúe] had twins; everybody talked about them. When one died, the family was relieved. The other died about two weeks ago." Twins were reared in their home like other children. They were not credited with extraordinary power. No informant had heard of multiple births, other than twins, among Araucanians.

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

Incest is considered a disgrace. No instance of it between brother and sister having the same mother was known; one between a man and his half-sister was spoken of—both man and woman had the same father, but the mother of each was one of the multiple wives of the father; the mothers were sisters. "That was in my own relationship. The two were much talked about, and much talked to. They finally separated. Later both married other persons, and they are still married to them." 835

No case of incest between mother and son had ever been heard of; several between father and daughter were known. "But that too was a very rare thing among the Mapuche. It is a great disgrace." The informant then related, in subdued tones, two instances in which he knew a Chilean man was father of his (the Chilean's) daughter's child. "A great disgrace!" he again added, and then denounced an Araucanian widower whose daughter ran away from home so as not to have to live as wife with her father.

In some areas it is not uncommon for a child to be born out of wedlock; in others, it is a rare event. Quoting an Araucanian from 848

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● 848 an area in which it occurs frequently: "One woman here had two children by the same man; both died. Another girl here has two by the same man. The two daughters of the cacique's second wife each have such a child. One woman has four such children living with her, each of whom has a different father, and then she has a fifth one who is with its father in the home of his parents." Quoting an informant from another area: "I know of only one unmarried mother in this area. She has three children; each child has a different unmarried father. The woman has the youngest child with her; the second youngest was adopted by her brother and his wife, a childless couple; and the oldest, by the woman's mother."

An unmarried mother loses the esteem of others; her own family feels disgraced. Occasionally an abortion is attempted. "Formerly, a pregnant unmarried girl was chased from her home," said a man. "No one else would take her in. She lived alone in the woods then and was usually alone when her child was born. No one would take the child either. That was sufficient punishment. It is not that way any more." His wife continued: "Formerly, too, the parents on both sides tried to force a marriage between the girl and the man before the birth of the child, but that was not always possible. The will of the man cannot be forced."

Today parents on both sides urge a marriage. "There is much scolding and everybody is ashamed." If there is no marriage, the girl is usually taken into her parental home, "but scolding by everybody never ends. Since nothing can be done about it, the child is born in the girl's home." A non-Araucanian herbalist told of a young Araucanian who was ashamed to go home; his home had been disgraced he said, and added, "I told those at home that I feared something was happening to my sister [20 years of age] for I had seen her on the campo, walking with a Mapuche man. What I feared has happened; my sister is now pregnant."

The child born out of wedlock is usually well treated—it is not blamed or stigmatized and is usually reared by the girl in her parental home. An instance was related where the father of a girl would not accept her second illegitimate child. She then took the child to its father's home, where it was also not wanted. She left the child in the yard there and went to her maternal aunt's house.

DEFORMED CHILDREN, SICK BABIES, INFANTICIDE

845 732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One mother told of such a child born to her after seven months' pregnancy. "His hands and feet

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847 Formerly, children born crippled or idiotic were killed, as previously noted. Cooper lists as infanticides deformed offspring, one of twins, [845] and an illegitimate child, and notes that his sources are not clear on the frequency of the occurrences (1946, p. 733). In Coñaripe area it is a known fact that one of twins is killed.

847 In rare instances, it appears, a child born out of wedlock was killed by its mother. She is known to do so in Coñaripe area. "A daughter 848 of one of my neighbors killed her illegitimate child. I told her she would damn her soul for doing such a thing. But recently she had another such child and killed it too. Some say she throttled the babies immediately after birth; others say she crushed them to death by pressing them against something hard. Both children were born in her home." A non-Araucanian in the same area knew of one young unmarried mother who had killed her child and had heard it said that others had done so; but the informant had been unable to verify the rumors.

COLOR BLINDNESS, LEFT-HANDEDNESS, SPEECH DEFECTS

143 No Araucanian was known to be colorblind. Young children often mistake blue for green or vice versa, said a non-Araucanian teacher, but she thought this was owing to a lack of knowledge of colors, for the mistake was no longer made after the children grew older.

145 Both left-handed and ambidextrous children and adults were seen. Of 62 school children, 2 girls and 1 boy were left-handed; all three, however, wrote with the right hand. "I would never let them write with the left hand," said their teacher. Quoting another teacher: "Parents are not disturbed over a left-handed child, but they make it a point to tell me when they bring the child to school that it uses its left hand instead of the right hand; that it has grown into the habit of doing so."

145 No left-handed child was known to stutter, including the three 153 whom the teacher had obliged to write with the right hand. Another child in the same school did stutter. "His parents are first cousins," the teacher explained. "They have two more children, but these do not stutter. All three children are dull mentally." In Coñaripe area many children stuttered and so did a few adults.

ADOPTIONS, SERVANTS, SLAVES

597 No Araucanian child is left without a home. Not only is a deserted 736 or an orphaned child adopted, but, in some instances, one from a nor- 513 mal home as well. Never do relatives permit a child to be placed in A Children Orphanage.

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weaned my child slowly, but if it bit me while nursing I gave it a slap, and that ended the nursing." Generally, however, if weaning was an abrupt affair, the child was taken to the house of a relative or neighbor, and left there for three or four days so that the mother would not hear it cry. "It will cry much during the first night, but after that, not very much." When the child is returned to its mother, the mother puts a repellent on her nipples, such as chili or the bitter-tasting ajenjo, or garlic-smelling ajo. Fur repellent was not used. When nursing ends, the milk is pressed from the mother's breast and poured into a brook, the belief being that if it is poured on dry land the mother's breasts will dry and incapacitate her for nursing children yet to be born to her. 862

ATYPICAL CONDITIONS

MULTIPLE BIRTHS

Twins, but no other multiple births, were known among the Araucanians, and, according to the oldest informants, not even twins were born to them in very early days. "But suddenly there were several sets," said an 80-year-old woman; "and since then one hears of a pair born occasionally." Most informants told of a woman who had given birth to two sets of twins: one set lived, the other died. All four grandparents of the twins were pure Araucanians, a relative insisted. Twins were of either or of both sexes. There was no way of predicting twins before birth. 845

All informants, except an 85-year-old man, agreed that twins were not desired; that people were frightened when they were born; that they were a punishment from God, because "the people had laughed at an animal that had twins or triplets—goats, you know, sometimes have triplets." Women did not want twins because of the work of bringing up two children at the same time. The 85-year-old man said the father liked his twin children and provided for them; he and his wife were visited by persons who congratulated them and said, "What luck you have had to have twins." Parents of twins were not presented with gifts.

One of a pair of twins was not killed—"there is too much love for children in our people ever to kill a child. Old people used to say, however, that if one twin died, the other would also soon die." [847]

INCEST, ILLEGITIMACY

No information was collected on incest. A child born out of wedlock—spoken of as a "natural" child—was a rare thing formerly. "It [835] 848

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848 could not have happened very easily when I was a girl," said a woman older than 100 years; "mothers watched over their girls then. Parents would not have wanted a son to marry a girl that had a 'natural' child—parents, you know, arranged for the marriage of their sons in those days."

[558] Illegitimacy in a family lowered the status of the family in the community. The expectant unmarried mother was scolded by her parents; sometimes whipped by her father. "No one would have blamed her parents if they had hanged her." Usually, however, the parents said nothing, blaming themselves. Everybody in the family was ashamed; conversation by family members became almost nil; quietly everyone waited for the months to pass until the arrival of the [684] baby. The cacique had the right to take the life of the paramour, if the girl's parents insisted that he do so. Girls, knowing this, usually protected the man by refusing to identify him.

If the unmarried mother was not accepted by her parents, she delivered her child away from home, usually in the woods, where she was assisted by a friend. If she delivered it in her home, it was reared there. "What else could they do?" Sometimes the child was reared by grandparents or other sympathetic adults. According to Argentine law, a child born out of wedlock may bear its father's name, a custom taken over by present-day Araucanians.

Informants lamented the present-day increase of children born out of wedlock. "Today there are girls who are only 12 years old who have a 'natural' child."

DEFORMED CHILDREN, INFANTICIDE, SICK CHILDREN

732 Rarely was a child born deformed. One had been born with only one finger; one with only a thumb and first finger on its left hand; one with a harelip; one with defective hearing; one had faulty teeth from babyhood on; an occasional child is not able to walk at the proper age. "What could parents do about it? They had to take the [847] child as it came." No child was known to have been born with polydactyl digits. Infanticide was not practiced.

855 A child that cries only occasionally is looked upon as a normal child, 755 and no attention is paid to its crying. During an interview a child less than 2 years old cried because its grandaunt, who often coddled it, left the house. Elders merely laughed, and let it cry. But a child that cries persistently is thought to be sick, that is, to have something wrong with its intestinal tract. It is given either dehydrated powdered lining of the crop of chicken or rhea, preferably rhea, or its own

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during the father's lifetime and after. If the woman is already a member of the residential kingroup through a previous marriage to a lineage brother, that is, if this is a case of widow inheritance, her children will be lineage brothers and sisters to their half-siblings. There will ordinarily be a claim on their actual father's holdings which they may exercise – a condition which considerably eases the tensions which tend to result in matters of inheritance of land. If the woman's children are the offspring of her marriage to a man unrelated to her second husband, their claims are greatly inferior to those of their half-siblings. They are not of the same lineage as their sociological father, but only have residential kingroup status owing to their relationship to him through their mother. Consequently, their claim to reservation land is weak and, if land is very scarce, they will usually be discouraged by their stepfather and his lineage brothers from marrying and settling on the reservation. These children are what might be called sociological orphans, since they are also likely to be cheated of their claims to land on the reservation of their biological father, to whose lineage they belong but in whose residential kingroup they have no status. It is children of this dubious status[A] who tend to become career soldiers or policemen or, if they are women, enter domestic service or, frequently after having borne an out-of-wedlock child, houses of prostitution in the towns.

595 428 613 618 587 554 548 948

[A] [i.e. – Children living on the reservation of their mothers' second husband, who are not of the same lineage as their stepfather – Analyst]

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anything more than flirtation and the bodily contact that certain dances afford. 836

Ceremonial dancing, which is largely limited nowadays to the *ñillatun* rite, is not without its opportunities for sexual advances. Many young people who dance together at these ceremonies are already courting. If this is not the case, pairing off for ceremonial dancing might bring the possibility of a match to the minds of the parents, who are also in attendance and who are apt to take special notice of this sort of thing. Later, the parents might individually encourage the affair. If they are dissatisfied, however, they could profit from the ceremonial occasion and publicly discourage the young people. [535] [584]

While premarital sex is always a *sub rosa* affair, parents become concerned if their children are not proceeding along the road to courtship and marriage. Bashfulness in public is ridiculed by parents. Young people are encouraged to mingle, especially when they are chaperoned by responsible adults. 836 584

A young man receives his greatest assistance in love affairs from males of his peer group, usually parallel cousins or brothers, but he also obtains great encouragement from his sisters and other close female relatives. Sisters will tease him about his interest in a certain girl, perhaps in this way bringing it to the attention of the parents for the first time. They advise him that bashfulness is not becoming to a man and might also tell him that "as in the past" his marriage will have to be arranged for him. Mothers sometimes follow a similar line, but couch their remarks more gently. They characteristically work behind the scenes in forwarding a suit of which they approve. Fathers seldom concern themselves directly in these matters, especially refraining from giving advice to their daughters. With this exception, the entire household takes an active interest in a proper love affair, and it is in time thoroughly discussed, although questions and answers are generally dissembled by teasing and mockery. [593] [605]

ILLICIT LOVE AFFAIRS AND ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS 584

Pregnancy most often leads to marriage, in which case there are no major interpersonal and social upheavals, provided the marriage is within licit bounds. The young man is prevailed upon by his sweetheart in the name of the child to be born and her own hapless condi- 836 848

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584 836 848 tion. If the young man is in love with the girl and feels that she will make a good wife, he will generally marry her. He may not do so immediately unless he already has land and a house of his own or a secure place in his father's household. Often he advises his sweetheart to continue living with her parents until he is able to make preparations to receive her as his wife. Delay might be construed as unwillingness to go through with the marriage, but this is not always the case. Nevertheless, until marriage arrangements have been entered into, this is a tense and anxious period for all concerned.

If a man has no land and his parents are unwilling to take his wife and child into their house, he is in no position to accept the responsibilities of marriage. I know of no case in which a man went to live with the parents of his lover under these circumstances. Indeed, he would not be welcome. The parents of the girl treat him with some distrust until serious marriage proposals have been made. If the young man and his family are in good faith, marriage negotiations may begin at this time. Ideally, they should have been planned in advance. In cases where the young couple are already betrothed, the matter of pregnancy is taken lightly, or perhaps as a sign of fruitfulness, and relatives on both sides lend ready assistance to the young man and woman in providing for a new household.

584 583 836 848 The situation is more complicated if the young man is already betrothed to another girl. He may refuse to marry his paramour on the grounds that his family has already made preparations for his forthcoming marriage. He stresses the obligations he and his parents are under to other relatives who have promised him animals for the bride-price, given labor for the preparation of fields, a house, and so forth; or he tells her that he will not get this sort of assistance should he marry her instead of his betrothed.

This line of reasoning is deceitful since it somewhat exaggerates the material contributions of relatives in marriage arrangements today. Lineage contributions to the marriage wealth are often more symbolic than substantial, except in cases where a lineage decision has to be made on the allotment of land to the young man. A marriage tends to stand or fall on the availability of land. Access to unused land is obtained through permission of the reservation's chief. But on most reservations there is little or no unused land, and a man must obtain his father's consent to use part of the family's fields, rather than seek the permission of the chief or one or more of the other lineage elders. Of course, in granting his son a parcel of farmland a

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man cannot easily fly in the face of tradition as represented by the authority of lineage elders. We will return to the significance of land in marriage wealth in the next chapter, where the matrilateral marriage system is discussed in detail and the symbolic value of marriage wealth is explained.

A man in love might elope with his sweetheart whether or not she is pregnant. This is quite common today, even after extended courtship. It usually occurs with the knowledge of the man's family and, in many cases, with the approval of at least some member of the girl's household. Elopement is considered disgraceful, however, if a young man has been forbidden to marry by his father. If a man is engaged to a young woman and elopes with another, his situation is especially difficult. The community looks upon the act as a mark of disrespect toward the father and as evidence that the young man has not been properly brought up, and also sees something ridiculous in the situation. But the parents of the boy and his betrothed regard it as reprehensible. It is cause for a breach between the two families and in no way cements relations between the young man's family and that of the girl with whom he eloped. The young man's father can easily refuse to allow his son and the girl to remain in his house and deny his son access to farmland. Under these circumstances, the young couple either decide to give up or postpone their marriage, or defy parental authority and leave the reservation.

Should a young man cause his sweetheart to become pregnant and then show a reluctance to marry her, his parents are in a position to exert pressure on him to go through with it. Characteristically, they speak of his duties to the child that is expected, his responsibility to the girl, and the concern he should feel for the honor of his mother and father. If his mother and sister feel that the girl will make a good wife and if the families are on friendly terms, great pressure can be brought to bear on him. If the girl and the young man's mother are consanguineal kin, the young man will usually be directly admonished by members of his mother's kingroup to marry the girl. His reluctance usually breaks down in this case, or else he remains adamant and leaves the reservation rather than marry. Leaving the reservation, indeed, often seems the only solution, for the young man's life can be made intolerable, at least until the girl marries someone else.

It is unlikely that a girl's parents will negotiate directly with the young man or his family if they are not rather closely related to him

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584 836 848 578 558 [177] through his mother. Without this kinship tie, such negotiation would be taken amiss by the young man on the grounds that he was being unduly coerced and his honor impugned. In most respects, the primary consideration in these matters is family honor, and the danger of interfamilial hostility and loss of honor are sufficient to make responsible relatives on both sides attempt to smooth things over. The notion of honor in this instance might well reflect an influence from a Chilean system of values.

754 [836] The fear of sorcery is a deterrent to irresponsible behavior in love affairs. The resort to supernatural vengeance by the injured party, through consultation with a specialist, seems once to have been a more widespread practice. Nevertheless, despite what might appear a growing sophistication, the Mapuche continue to concern themselves a great deal with witchcraft and supernatural elements. They tend, however, to dissemble certain beliefs in witchcraft, where these depart from those held by rural Chileans, for the purpose of avoiding ridicule. Mapuche and Chilean peasants share a substantial body of supernatural beliefs, the Chileans criticizing Mapuche concepts of supernatural agents only with respect to details, not as a body of beliefs.

[682] It is not surprising to hear sometimes of murder being committed against a sorceress by one whom she has wronged or threatened. In 68 [692] the past, when the reservations were not too closely surveyed by the national police, the Mapuche tended to settle their disputes according [754] to traditional methods. Wrongs were avenged by witchcraft and mur- [682] der. Included in this pattern was the socially sanctioned killing of 839 [836] adulterers by the injured man and his kingroup. Tangential to this practice was the one of killing unfaithful lovers, especially men who had forsaken their sweethearts after they became pregnant. It is said [628] that these killings, like others, resulted in interminable feuding or the payment of an indemnity which brought the matter to a close. [754] Today, although violent murder occurs now and then, vengeance is [178] usually exacted through witchcraft. Blood feuding is a thing of the [628] past, most overt acts of vengeance now subsumable under the category [692] of misdemeanors, as defined by Chilean law. Under these circumstances fewer relatives on both sides of an issue become directly involved.

836 There is, however, no clear evidence that love affairs which resulted in one of the parties suffering injustice characteristically led to violent reprisal and blood feud, at least during the last fifty or

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of terminal assistance to his sister, saying that he would be willing to give her money on which to live but that he could not stand the disgrace of having her in his house and would not see her again. By the time he returned home his son had left the household.

The woman could not abort her baby. When the child was eventually born, she neglected it until one day it toppled into the fire and was severely burned. She took the child to a neighbor's house and asked that it be cared for until she obtained salve for the burn in town. She never returned, and is said to have gone to Santiago.

Someone who was friendly with the woman's brother brought the child to him, asking that he do something about caring for it. The child had "no place." Its mother had made difficulty for her dead husband's family, who never entered directly into any phase of this negotiation and did not want the child.

At the time of my stay on the reservation, the child was living with his mother's brother's family. He was crippled from the burn inflicted by falling into the fire several years before. They had built a special stroller for him in order that he might have enough support to walk and strengthen his legs. He was considered one of his uncle's sons, the fiction being rationalized on the grounds that the child would suffer less shame in this way and would have "a place."

There was no idea of retribution connected with the child's injury and lameness. His mother was not reviled by her brother, who said that she had probably already suffered enough. But neither she nor the child's father would be allowed to return to the reservation to live, since the other residents and the chief would not permit it.

The third example is one of unrequited love, sorcery, and suicide. Through the practice of *koftun*, which consists of roasting an infant's testicles over a witch's fire, the lover can be made sterile. Unwed mothers sometimes avenge themselves in this way, rather than reveal their lover's name to their family. Such supernatural machinations are rarely resorted to today, however, without first attempting to abort. If early abortion is unsuccessful and the woman's feeling is sufficiently bitter, she will take the baby—which is often stillborn after the vigorous efforts to abort it—to a witch who performs *koftun*. If the child is born alive, the mother might relent and discard her plans of supernatural vengeance on her lover. There are reports, though, of such children being killed by suffocation so that their testicles may be removed and *koftun* carried out.

In the case called to my attention the child was stillborn. The

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mother consulted a witch who lived on another reservation some miles from that of her lover. *Koftun* was performed. The mother buried the infant behind the family dwelling and shortly afterward left the reservation to take up domestic service in one of the regional towns. Her family became impatient for results and eventually revealed to the young man that *koftun* had been made against him and that he was bewitched. (The theme of revelation runs through many of the accounts of the supernatural.)

The young man is said to have become despondent, soon leaving the reservation. He went to Argentina for several years and worked as a ranch hand before returning home. Within a week of his return he went into the woods behind his house and cut his throat. The community considered this action pathetic and unnecessary, since the thing for the young man to have done would have been to father several children before the *koftun* magic took effect. There is the notion that the supernatural agent is slow-working and sometimes a man will have several months or even years of virility ahead.

While abortion is fairly common among unwed mothers and *koftun* rare, as far as I know, the most typical reaction seems to be a resolve not to become pregnant again until married. Of seventy-three women above the age of twenty-five living on three of the reservations I studied in 1953, sixteen, or more than 20 per cent, admitted to having (or were said to have had) at least one out-of-wedlock child. Most of these women eventually married the child's genitor. Some of them married other men, or at least did not know the biological father's identity. A good many aborted or tried to abort. Only three never married, although they are still young enough to marry.

Having one out-of-wedlock child is generally considered a misfortune, but a characteristic human error and not an insuperable barrier to eventual marriage. A young woman with more than one illicitly conceived child, however, is felt to be promiscuous and undesirable as a wife. Such a woman, if she ever marries, may have to carry a large dowry and perhaps marry a widower, an old polygynist, a poor Mapuche who is willing to reside uxorilocally, or a "renegade" or *mapuchado* white.

ARRANGING THE MARRIAGE

Arranged marriage need not imply indifference to the feelings of the young couple involved, although they are sometimes ignored.